1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and room are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvador Canals Frau

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa húmeda, or the eastern section, and the Región del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. Thus ended uncertainty and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open combats with the Indians who ruled the plains.

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 16th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were ethnically different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Pampean in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its southern neighbors the Puelche (*Gennakon*) and the Patagonians, and its northern neighbors, the *Guarpes*. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the *Araucanians* of Chile, whose language they also spoke (map 1, *No. 18*). The *Araucanians* are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America.

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people move almost 625 miles (1,000 km.) from their origi-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*. Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolichocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

This earliest tall, thin, dolichocephalic people, who neither spoke *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coincides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

lars between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized*. 161
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial 144
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians*. This elemental process of *Araucanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1646), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera 177
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The [133]
Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the new-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the 167
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

●167 peoples who were eastern neighbors of the *Araucanians*. In 1658, they were still masters of their own destiny, for various persons who made statements in the aforementioned criminal proceedings knew only their own language, whereas 100 years later they all spoke *Araucanian*, and only the old people still remembered their ancient tongue. This is what we are told by Father Havestadt, a Jesuit missionary who, in 1750, visited Malargüé, the principal center of these ancient people. After that date, the *Pudche* de Cuyo disappeared as an ethnic entity, to be transformed into a mere subdivision of the *Araucanized Pehuenche*.

The second expansion was to the east. Documents point to its presence north of the Pampean region in 1708. In this same year, at a meeting of Indians of different origins held at Las Pulgas near what is called today Villa Mercedes, on the Río Quinto, some Indian chiefs who were not yet *Araucanized* had brought to the council "Auca Indians or Indians of the War of Chile." At that period, the *Araucanians* on the eastern side of the Andes were known as *Auca* (*Araucanian* for enemy, traitor, or contrary), or "upriser."

A year later, in 1709, they were also found in the region east of the Pampa. It is stated in an official document that one of the expeditions that went south from Buenos Aires every year in search of salt had met with a great number of *Auca* who were taking large herds of cattle and horses toward Chile. Some weeks later, at the meeting of the "Cabildo" de Buenos Aires, held on February 10, 1710, it was stated that a great number of the *Auca* Indians from the Chilean Cordillera went to the plains to steal cattle.

At first, these visitors limited themselves to exercising their influence upon the pre-*Araucanian Pampa* of the plains and to carrying off the wild cattle. But soon they attacked the Spanish settlements and committed all kinds of depredations against stock farmers in the vicinity of Buenos Aires. In 1716, the presence of *Serrano* is noted. *Serrano* was the common term for the Indians of the Cordillera, that is, the *Araucanized Pehuenche*. Ten years later, it was suggested that an expedition be sent from Buenos Aires "in order that the *Aucas* and *Serranos* who inhabited the vicinity of the city be driven out." Thus, we can establish 1725 as the approximate date in which the *Araucanians* were definitely established in the great plains.

Once these *Araucanians* were established among the primitive *Pampa* they were the most dynamic element, and rapidly became the dominant one. That is why the Englishman, Father Thomas Falkner, could state in his well-known "Description of Patagonia" (1774) that his experience as missionary in the Jesuit settlements south of Buenos Aires showed that the *Araucanian* language "was the most generally understood" among the Indian populations of the plains.

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Puelenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea.

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places.

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of semi-nomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Puelenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankúl means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S.

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampidos* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82 all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

•[167]

601 591 582 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that ?aSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouse. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pole*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*küllon*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 582 587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [in 1896]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

●[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *duke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kuve* or *domo*, and from *kuve* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kuvun*. If *duke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *duke kuve*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *duke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *duke kuve* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kuvun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Roguilco (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

more face-to-face contacts with Chileans. And the surplus population is being drained off each year to be lost in the Chilean town and rural population.

At the same time, the Araucanian culture, although now a subculture of Chile, continues to be a very distinctive ethnic entity. House types, shamanism, lineage ceremonialism, beliefs in gods, nature spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft, and even lineage-based political activities persist. Patrilineal reckoning still predominates. Many home crafts are still carried on. Faron does not see this modern culture as a mixture of aboriginal bits with modern Chilean customs, nor conceive it as creole or mestizo, part native and part Spanish. He does not consider that the Araucanian culture is doomed in the immediate future. The modern culture is an adaptation to reservation life of the earlier culture of the warring period which itself had a strong continuity with the aboriginal culture. The contemporary Indians will change only gradually so long as the reservations assure them land and a certain isolation.

To place the present monograph in the perspective of the larger objectives of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, we may say first that the base-line culture is that of a tribal society which had been affected by three centuries of warfare against the Spaniards, though not deeply penetrated by Spanish institutions — for example, by the religious brotherhoods and the ceremonial calendar which were so widely imposed on other South American Indians. It is a modified aboriginal culture that was guaranteed peace and placed in comparative isolation on reservations. Second, the influences from the larger society upon the Araucanians during the past seventy-six years are largely those of a preindustrial society mediated through reservation institutions. In fact, the principal aspect of the acculturational context since 1884 is the reservation situation rather than intimate mingling with the basic rural and urban population of Chile. At the same time, much of this basic population outside the reservations has an ancestry of Indians, largely Araucanian, who were earlier assimilated or who spilled over as surplus population from the reservations.

I venture the prognosis that in the course of time the Araucanians will become less distinguishable from their fellow farmers throughout the nation — that in the long run the reservations will have served to retard acculturation but not fundamentally to change its direction. Such aboriginal institutions as persist today will doubtless be readapted functionally as the total social pattern continues to evolve.

Ilg Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 3,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not cease to form the rural proletarian environment by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[2]

By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual disinheritance of reservation Indians.[3] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[2] See Gaspar Aguilera et parents; Canelo Pena, 1948:30-40, for discussion and bibliography.

[3] This mechanism was the policy of division, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

II:Farom E-5 (1952-1954)261 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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INTRODUCTION

After 1868 expansionist pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area west and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869-70, in which they were defeated and their populations further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great populations flux characterized the decade or so after 1883, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

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[121]
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Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of interracial relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Many of this Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile -- land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and hacenderos in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements enough white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche to the Frontera.

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4.
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucania (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all suspicious occasions, and are essential to the "horse pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be pseudo if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1955, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and are infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be reared in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overpopped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chilenos complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel cowered by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

U:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile 561

the island and the complete absence of common plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (c. 1948)	[illegible] OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pullao	chi. c	32	c. 3.5 ha.
Llankin	pue	48	c. 8.3 ha.
Huechucuicui	aug	80	c. 1.3 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Rahue Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of reduccion (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolten, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is shown to be divided into reducciones, the claimants who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be entitled of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices, which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female reducidos (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of matrilocal relatives. He is considered a reducido only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also own his matrilocal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his matrilocal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

credit system of which he is so less only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through division) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, eight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problems in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is allowing the use of land on shares basis. The third is the full-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have acquired some sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of usufructs was circulated.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often ill and usually interested in having the reservation undergo division so that

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Mapuche

to cultivate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives. In addition Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had sons, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief disbursement as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of contemporaneous ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with considerable land Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kin group *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this sector would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these possibilities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and few claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become home fulltime members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF MARRIED WOMEN

When a woman marries patrilocally she retains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

As a married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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Mapuche

and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub-lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--- Analyst]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The story of this creation may be told quite simply.

After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (cacique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone looking for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dominant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of unrelated kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] [See Cat. 116, p. 93 -- ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indicated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordinate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation community will be discussed in the next chapter.

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal division. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where division took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for division. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-81 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Formerly virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the white colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 17) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the exploration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [424]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care – again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (ñuke) and "other mother" (ñuñuke) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called ñoño, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was assumed that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way commits relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him

Ellefson E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's male kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and counteracted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker — outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as only such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1954, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment — no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and more in public — at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of secrecy combining sexual intercourse between members of the lineal group where such activity was certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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Filial inheritance of wives is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a radicada) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intension of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another residence patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born of the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides exorbitantly on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak -- they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be reasoned for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the child who holds the título de merced, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of reduction. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed bonds of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payments.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife giver and wife receiver, no accumulation of wealth. The very differences of the matrilineal marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into ownership holdings, or slowly decreased. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilineal system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until late in life, until parents die and sister owns for the available store of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruous outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage [cf. Titiev, 1951:73].

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to a more basic, intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a cause-effect situation, no longer resolvable by expansionism and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reversed to a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point [Faron, 1956:91-92]. Studies of matrilineally linked societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analysis solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which seem of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances to which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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mostly according to their number and the esteemed position of many of the old. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate previous period was one of glory for the Magwitch. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Magwitch refer, although they tend to place the time of decadence far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the co-operative system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance within study.

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One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Magwitch population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the subgroup area. Many Magwitch have left the co-operatives to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine towns. Most of these are young people, who are ejected all annually from the growing co-operative population. They become detached from the exclusive world of the co-operatives, and their ties account in the details of Magwitch problems of adjustment to Chilean social forms. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the co-operatives and they comprise a distinctive Magwitch participation in Chilean towns and cities. While their engagements on the co-operatives is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up co-operative life, they remain a significant category, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual gathering which they enjoy participating. But, by most of these criteria, the full significance of Magwitch ritual has become attenuated with them, and the social implications of their experiences as non-Magwitch cannot be fully explored in terms of the co-operatives as are the men's economic interests allowed to remain unspoken.

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Under Chilean law, these emigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of co-operative land, especially if the co-operative has not subdivided its holdings. That is, legal division into privately owned fields and dwellings of a corporate co-operative community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the character of the co-operative, emigrés are able to exercise such rights. Even when

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place descents outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these descents are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land, they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their alien mind (ideologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the distressful questions raised by the priests (*ulkantufe*) at the difficult ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sentiment and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are local descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief weighs against and at the same time is supported by the claims of emigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of division as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into ownable lots effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political conservatism, partly a result of a strengthened or sustained Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Bilateral Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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about Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically considered—one must understand the socio-historical structure of morality. Without this overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic perpetuation of ancestral spirits, as Titon does, could seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another look at approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of some population by the annual migration of adolescent (unmarried) members of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never sacrifice on the reservation from which they come. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titon touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks were directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of core elements of values and the elements or talents to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards (warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days) for successful activities are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. Few honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1971:142).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations to the society are, which almost fully vindicates, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. The longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

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a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In their view, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of competence in the core schemes which Chilean society prototypically offers. For them, change has been valued.

DOR But what about the estimated 90,000 or so mapuches-living Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it exist in defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much qualitative work must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

What have the Mapuche been doing since 1881? I suggest that we may well be content with the simple observation that they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "issues" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly (full, up to a point), secure a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If activities and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those manufactured by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapuche land. Why should the Mapuche care money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "hoarders," "investors," or even "thrifty." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and confining